

# MACLEAN'S

## THE PRICE OF VICTORY

The war is over—why are U.S. troops still dying?

## PROCRASTINATION

Why putting things off can be good for you

## ART FROM THE ORDINARY

Writer Carol Shields made the mundane into the stuff of vision



# THIS WOMAN IS A CONVICTED DRUG MULE

Transporting narcotics seemed the answer to Mary O'Connor's problems. Big mistake—but it's one many women are making.

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## MACLEAN'S

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How many  
will die before  
U.S. troops  
leave Iraq?  
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Transporting narcotics seems to be the answer to their problems. Then they get caught.

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Jean Chrétien may feel that he is a great patriot, but the reality is that all of his actions centre around one issue—what is it going to do for him?

—MICHAEL HUNTER, Kemptville, Ont.

Letters to the Editor letters@canada.com

#### The view from Olympian heights

The Olympics are a great opportunity for countries to learn more about each other ("City of gold," Cover, July 14). All though I see the Olympics as a wonderful experience for our city, I know many people do not share my view. They say it's going to be too costly and not going to even come close to paying for itself. But the point of the Olympics is not to make or lose money. The point is for all the participants, and especially the host city, to enjoy themselves and do well. Of course, I won't even be allowed to vote, being 14, but I'm just happy that in a few years I will be able to enjoy them.

JANEL GRIFIN, Vancouver

I was thrilled that Vancouver was awarded the 2010 Olympic Games. I was so angry, though, when I read "no one on the bid team wanted to repeat 1976 and 1980, when Canada suffered the embarrassing loss of not winning a single gold medal on home soil." True, but we are forgetting the manner in which those gold medals were won. My best friend Nancy Gaspak, won two bronze medals in swimming at the Montreal Olympics. The two women who beat her in each race were part of the East German swimming machine now known to have doped its athletes, often without their knowledge. It was not surprising Canadian how proud we all should be of our homes and extremely talented Canadian athletes. We should not be embarrassed.

SHAWN WILSON (introduced, Toronto)

When you can't afford to go away on vacation because only your paycheck goes to the government and your loved ones have to wait for medical specialists, you really don't care if some white shoes a half-second off his downhill run or if Canadiana win over 22 Olympic medals.

DANIEL TUBI, Toronto

Your July 14 edition featured wall-to-wall celebration of Vancouver's successful Olympic bid. Those who laboured valiantly for that



goal are hardly proud, and those who stand to profit are no less joyful. But it would seem reasonable, however, that somewhere in your page should be a greater reference to those who did, and still do, oppose this most inefficiently expensive project. Remember that most of those who died of Vancouverites voted against the idea, and this in the area of the province that stands to gain the most. It is a suffering and underdeveloped area to build services, and many people feel that now is not the time to blow billions of dollars on a two-week party.

PAUL BRADLEY, Delta, B.C.

Now that Vancouver has the Olympics, B.C. taxpayers are rightly worrying about possible mismanagement and Enron-style accounting if the history of past Olympics is any indication, they will never know the truth. Still, B.C. taxpayers should look at the bright side. For example, at only \$660 million, improvements to the Seirto-Sky Highway from Vancouver to Whistler will cost only 60 per cent of the dysfunctional gasway. Not only that, but the province will end up with something that actually works and, with some of the winter comes snowed out, will save far more than a bargain indeed.

IAN JORDAN, Vancouver

While we are supporting athletes to win medals in Vancouver's Winter Games, we should realize that a high-glide finish in the Summer Olympics brings at least as much glory to Canada. My daughter is a member of Canada's kayak team and I feel it would be unfair, even foolish, to be carried away in the excitement and finance-driven sport athletes at the expense of others working hard to bring glory to Canada. All athletes need more government and corporate support and nothing is more discouraging than looking for other sports at the expense of the one you have spent your best years training in.

BULLER JILL, Calgary

Congrat on a great cover story on Vancouver's successful Olympic bid. It is unfortunate you had to go with a tasteless cartoon. "All-Jewish hype" ("Vancouver's Olympic demo-sport" The Week, July 14) is not funny and since when was it OK to make fun of someone based on sexual orientation?

FRANCES NORTON, Burlington, Ont.

#### Made in Canada

Alexander MacKenzie may have been the first European to travel overland to the Pacific, but he certainly did not discover the route ("We got there first" June 23). Mackenzie was taken over the Grouse Trail—a route between coastal and interior First Nations—by Native guides he hired. This route had native trade connections that went as far inland as the Cree and Blackfoot lands on the Prairies.

MAURICE LEHMANN, Hanover, N.C.

I take exception to Marc Edwards's letter when he writes that there are no Canadian-born explorers of note ("From sea to sea," The Mail, July 14). Pierre-Gabriel de Varennes de La Verendrye and his sons, born in what is now Quebec, were the first "Europeans" to explore and open North America to the French traders, from Lake Superior to the South Saskatchewan River, and south to the Missouri River in the first half of the 18th century.

AL BOWEN, Bragg Creek, Alta.

#### Love story

What a lovely, touching story about Sir Denis Thatcher by Barbara Anand ("The prince speaks," Column, July 14). Such a man will surely be missed. I so enjoyed reading an

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People will remember Christie as childish, spiteful, bawling, and self-serving

article that seemed unfair: not often addressed—loyalty and love.

Amie Merle Stockwell, St. Catharines, Ont.

Thanks to Barbara Aron for her article on Sir Denis "Big Boy" dae, as usual.

A. Brian Pickford, Quilicura Beach, B.C.

#### Christie's Indian Affairs

In "Time of reckoning" (First Nations, June 16) you incorrectly state that Jean Christie, when he was Indian affairs minister in the late 1960s, "almost flamed out after unsuccessfully attempting to scrap the reserve system without extensively consulting Natives."

In fact, there was extensive consultation about changing the Indian Act, but Christie ignored it. He considered the National Indian Brotherhood, then an association of associations, as representative of the grassroots. Subsequently, the National Indian Brotherhood evolved into the Assembly of First Nations, representing the chiefs of each First Nation community—and still Ottawa says they aren't representative. Non-Aboriginal politicians have to look beyond the next public opinion poll and beyond their terms of office, and make long-term commitments to rebuild (not destroy) the relationship.

John S. Gump, Assistant Professor  
Hepburn University, North Bay, Ont.

#### An unimpressive edit

One can readily understand how politicians reached their bottom-of-the-barrel reputations in the public mind when we read Peter C. Newman's article on the controversy surrounding our once-esteemed leader ("Christie's latest play," Politics, July 14). It is very hard to imagine how anyone with the ability to reach this level of political success could have disguised such a petty and vengeful career, all of which shows a complete disregard for the welfare of the country and the public that gave him its confidence.

R. D. Wright, Atkinson, Ont.

Peter C. Newman is correct in saying, "He might have been a great prime minister." From from now, we will remember Jean Christie as a childish, spiteful, bawling, self-serving and egotistical politician who absolutely refused to listen to the people.

Jeremy Wang, Fort McMurray, Alta.

#### Violent expectations

Your article left the impression that most of not all young offender facilities are built ("Institutional correction," Justice, June 9). Contrary to your story, violence is not inevitable in youth detention, nor is brutality common in these centres, as least in the ones I am familiar with in southwestern Ontario. We operate secure detention and out-

reachy facility in Windsor, and I am proud of our staff for the fine work they do with young persons in conflict with the law. We have had only a handful of violent acts against staff in more than 15 years of operation and even fewer incidents of peer-on-peer violence. I agree that any young offender facility that is overcrowded is more likely to have serious problems, but so also might any centre that fails to provide reasonably paid and well-trained staff, state-of-the-art rehabilitation programs and services, and sufficient safety and supervision personnel.

Terry L. Bouchard, Program Manager, The Maryvale Good Shepherd Centre for Youth, Windsor, Ont.

#### The painter and his brother

I enjoyed Paul Wells's discovery of Fred Taylor since I've just written a biography of the artist, the manuscript now being considered for publication ("Having an artist's," Back Page, July 14). Wells may not have known, when he wrote his column, that Fred Taylor had a very famous older brother, Tyson, F.P. who, besides his business holdings, was once the most successful horse breeder in North America. Fred took a different muse, an artist and member of the Communist Party of Canada, much to the chagrin, if not embarrassment, of his brother.

John Wilson, Miami

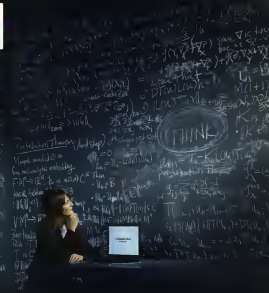
#### Power and double standards

So the "terrorist" Michael Ignatieff allowed himself to be intimidated by the clever tactics of President George W. Bush and his cohorts about the threat to world peace by Iraq's dangerous weapons of mass destruction ("Bribe guy," 40° Cover, June 23). How sad! Ignatieff was so concerned about 25 million Iraqis being held captive by the brutal dictator Saddam Hussein, how come he never showed any concern about 11 million people of Zaire being held hostage by their brutal president, Robert Mugabe, or the 42 million people of Myanmar who have been held in a virtual prison for more than 30 years by their ruthless generals? It appears that Ignatieff became concerned about Iraq only because the U.S. president and the majority of Americans became concerned for three oil OPEC states. Minister is looking so much better and so much more honest than those lying politicians Bush, Tony Blair, Colin Powell and the gang.

Heather L. Shandalar, Jacksonville, Fla.



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**THE ROAD AHEAD** The pack grinds its way through the French Alps on the ninth stage of the Tour de France, while the University of Toronto solar car gets its kicks on Route 46, in British Columbia, at the start of the \$3.7M six-cross-continent American Solar Challenge.

## WORLD

**INTERNET DURING** Twelve-year-old British schoolgirl Sherrine Pennington was back with her folks in Manchester after a five-day jaunt in Europe with Toby Studdabaker, a barely 21-year-old ex-U.S. Marine. The two had struck up a year-long relationship over the Internet. International police tracked the supposedly lost trucker pair to Germany after a stop in Paris. They also found child porn on Studdabaker's home computer, and evidence he knew how young his new acquaintance really was.

**MIDDLE EAST** After a week of brinkmanship over the handling of the peace negotiations, Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas and President Yasser Arafat stepped up their differences, with Abbas withdrawing his demand to resign. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, meanwhile, has refused to listen

to his attempts to have Arafat formally sidelined during the peace talks.

A Palestinian pollster was mobbed after he reported that only a small percentage of Palestinians want the right to return to what is now Israel, a key bargaining chip in the talks. Most simply want compensation.

**HITCHED HEARTS** A two-year-old Pakistani girl became a symbol of goodwill between nuclear rivals India and Pakistan after arriving by bus to have a heart transplant surgery in Bangalore, India. An interpreted outpouring of support from both Muslims and Hindus led her father to set up a modest fund for sick children in both countries.

**CARS** Ten people were killed and more than 50 hospitalized as a confused 86-year-old man plowed his Buick, at near freeway speed, into a crowded street market in Santa Monica, Calif. He told police he may have

hit the gas instead of the brake.

**JUSTIFYING WAR** A British weapons expert, David Kelly, told a parliamentary committee that, contrary to British government assurances, he wasn't the principal source of a BBC report accusing Britain of doctoring evidence to justify the war on Iraq. Three days later, police said a body found in woods not far from Kelly's home appeared to be that of Kelly, 59. Prime Minister Tony Blair said there would be a judicial inquiry if that identification is confirmed.

**INTERVENTION** A Canadian proposal to set new rules for international intervention to stop genocide or ethnic cleansing was given short shrift at a meeting in Berlin of 24 so-called progressive governments. Some, like Brazil and Germany, felt the rules could be used to justify the U.S.-led war on Iraq.

**UGANDA** At least 45 children abducted by the rebel Lord's Resistance Army drowned when they were sent ahead to test passage across a swollen river, the government said.

**PREVENTION** Australian researchers have developed a simple prenatal test that can detect Down's syndrome and spina bifida in the early weeks of pregnancy without recourse to the riskier amniocentesis.

Another group of Australian scientists reported that frequent masturbation for men between the ages of 20 and 50 can prevent prostate cancer.

**FOLLOW-UP** China sentenced fallen archbishop Ying Jue, once the country's second-richest man and a symbol of its new entrepreneurialism, to 18 years for corruption.

Comedian Aaron Burchuck, who gave *emailed* Prince William's 28th birthday last month, will not face charges. The senior police officer responsible for Windsor Palace security has, however, been transferred.

The senior Hong Kong *nicknames* resigned as street protests continued a third week.

North Korea said it has processed spent nuclear fuel into *birth-grade* plutonium, although not everyone was convinced that was true. North and South Koreans sentries, meanwhile, exchanged short rounds of machine-gun fire across the demilitarized zone separating the two nations.

The Philippine government has once again requested a *casualties* with a prominent

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### Benefit rock | Sympathy for the Toronto concert-goer

"If Jesus Christ climbed to the top of the CN Tower and declared that SARS was evil and SARS-free, no-one would believe him," says Liberal Senator Jerry Grefrains. "But if the Rolling Stones come to Toronto, every one believes it."

So goes the hype behind the July 30 Rolling Stones-headlined festival at Downsview Park, an abandoned armed forces base club in the middle of Canada's largest metropolis. The concert, organized by Grefrains, a voluble Trudeau-era fiend, and the equally loquacious Toronto MP Dennis Mills, along with music promoter Michael Cohl and Mohen Inc. president Don O'Neill, is meant to portend Toronto as a hotbed of fun, not disease. Also, to turbocharge Toronto's tourism business and pay tribute to the front-line health-care workers who bore the brunt of the SARS crisis. With low ticket prices and \$5 million in government seed money, organizers are anticipating an even bigger turnout than at Woodstock in 1969. As one of the world's largest, most politically correct rockfests, it should have no peers.

Profits from tickets and merchandise will be split between the hospitality and running

industries. Tickets (\$12.50 for Canada, US\$30) are capped at \$60,000, and \$60,000 have been sold south of the border. *Grefrains* is viced the entire U.S. Congress—once there's a fan group. "But there won't be any VIP treatment," says Mills. "Everyone's going to be drinking out of the same plastic cups."

The concert features a star-studded line-up, including the aging, but still alive, Rolling Stones, "Jukebox" bad boys AC/DC, neo-down Justin Timberlake and acid-hippie version the Flaming Lips. It's supported are Canadian stars like Sam Roberts, the occasionally Anacrophobic Guns N' Roses, arena rockers Rush and folk-country golden Karlene Edwards. Additional attractions consist of a half-mile long barbecue pit, where grilling steaks from Alabama, Australia and across Canada will burn up ahead of Canadian beef.

Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, who once designated Prime Minister Chrétien for being more enthusiastic with SARS and the

Heartbreak Justin Timberlake bristled up parkers Flaming Lips, Berlin's rockers AC/DC, Black and the Stones, always reaching

Rolling Stones than the road now problem, will take a turn with the songs. There will be kosher meat. There will be hold over. The message "Eat the Best" will be emblazoned on the grillers' aprons.

For security, police Chief Julian Fantino has promised 1,200 officers. And promoters are trying to enforce very un-Woodstock-like restrictions, including no blankets (for body-warming), no umbrellas (for eye poking) and, at one point, no horseshoe sandwiches. Bales made to be needed "Even Mary Poppins wouldn't be allowed into this concert," one organizer said.

Two less-than-comparative scenes previously burned items—like beach towels and seafood cookouts—will now be allowed. No one wants a repeat of disastrous concerts past, like the debacle in Atlantic City when a young man was beaten to death by a Kila Kila (the killer group who lived in security). But that was 24 years ago when the Stones were young. Now they're a middle-aged attraction. "This isn't just a kid's show," says Grefrains. "If you're young, you'll come to see Justin Timberlake. If you're older, you'll come to see the Stones." And that, folks, is the disease-free spirit of rock 'n' roll. Toronto style.

JONATHAN DODD

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# SAYING 'I DO'—AND 'I WON'T'

Same-sex marriage may make some people think twice about voting Liberal



**NEXT YEAR** they will celebrate 30 years of marriage. At least, that's what they call it—although many would deny that this particular couple are married at all. They have lived in the same neighbourhood of big old houses and mature trees near downtown Winnipeg since 1978. One is a recently retired provincial bureaucrat, the other a cabinet-maker. In a way, they are the model of a stable domestic partnership. Except they are two gay men. And even among same-sex couples, Chris Vogel, 55, the former civil servant, and Richard North, 52, the carpenter, stand out as emboldened. After saying their vows back in 1976, they fought the first legal battle in Canada to have the union of two persons of the same sex recognized by their province as a marriage, only to lose the fight in a Manitoba court.

Last week, the federal justice minister, Martin Cauchon, unveiled a law that also respects same-sex couples like Vogel and North on an equal footing with married men and women everywhere in Canada. Cauchon's move follows more court rulings in Ontario and British Columbia that found the traditional definition of marriage—one man and one woman—violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. His new definition speaks instead of "the lawful union of two persons to the exclusion of all others."

Vogel recalls that back when he was becoming an activist in the 1970s, even "progressives" who were broadly sympathetic with other goals of the burgeoning gay-rights movement, recoiled at the notion of homosexual marriage. Yet he believed history was on his side. "I was well aware of the reactions through political activity of prejudice against Roman Catholics, Jews, racial minorities and women," he said. "One had faith in the eventual goodness of humankind." Still, Vogel learned that seeking the right to marry was different from ending other types of

North and Vogel led a trailblazing battle to have their union legally recognized

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discrimination. "It was clear," he still, "that marriage would likely be the last thing that we would achieve."

In fact, marriage does seem to be the last thing that estranged religious and social conservatives would concede to give. "It's such a deep, emotional, value-based issue," says Vic Toews, justice critic for the Canadian Alliance, who represents Provence, a mostly rural Manitoba riding just east of Winnipeg. Toews is spearheading his party's defence against the decision the Ontario and B.C. courts have set and the federal Liberals are now following. A broad coalition of religious conservatives is also fighting to restrict legal use of the word marriage to its familiar husband-and-wife meaning. Their frustration can hardly be overstated. Toews cites the reaction of some Catholics in his riding against Ottawa's decision to accept gay marriage. "For many Catholics, the way it was described to me, it's the equivalent of government celebrating a Black Mass," he said. "For the government and the courts to be engaging in what is a sacrilege strikes at the heart of their value system."

Worldwide, societies don't get tossed around much in political debate, let alone pungent references to women's rights. But the word of associations around the word marriage tend to raise the rhetorical stakes. The language of this debate is more charged than a string of previous disputes over gay rights. Since the late 1940s, homosexuals have been fired, expelled by law, from legal reforms and changing social attitudes. In 1983, homosexuality, previously punishable by up to 14 years in prison, was decriminalized. "The state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation," Prime Trudeau, justice minister when he proposed the reform in 1967, famously said. In 1978, prohibitions on homosexual marriages were dropped. The federal government vowed to end any gay discrimination in areas of jurisdiction in 1986, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It wasn't until 1992 that the armed forces declared that gays would no longer be blocked from serving in uniform. More broadly, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in 1995 that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms should be read so far from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.

All these breakthroughs, and others, came with controversy. But the open war over marriage is on another level. For practical purposes, gay couples already enjoy most of

marriage's advantages in Canada, such as access to employee spousal benefits. What they want now is access to the intangible qualities that the word still conveys, even in areas of commonplace divorce. Fidelity. Stability. Love itself. "It's the definition of what was admirable, desirable, praiseworthy human relationship," Vogel says. But marriage also implies, for many devout Canadians, nothing less than a relationship with God. Even Cauchon, who surely wants to endorse the debate's religious dimension, did not entirely avoid alluding to it in defending his proposed law. "Extending marriage to same-sex couples does not take away any rights from opposite-sex couples," he insisted, "nor does it erode the significance or sanctity of marriage."

Sanctity is associated in the Canadian Oxford Dictionary with "holiness," "sacredness" and "sacrament." So Cauchon, perhaps un-

**'EXTENDING marriage to same-sex couples does not take away rights from opposite-sex couples, nor does it erode the sanctity of marriage'**



Cauchon unveiled the new law but couldn't avoid the issue's religious dimensions

wittingly, touched on exactly what it is about marriage that makes many religious groups object to extending it to same-sex couples. The justice minister took pains to reassure religious groups that their right not to let gays marry in their churches, synagogues and mosques would remain. In fact, the question of religious freedom is one of three aspects of the bill he is asking the Supreme Court to give its opinion on before the law

is put before Parliament. Does the Charter protect religious officials from having to perform same-sex marriages contrary to their beliefs? Is defining marriage strictly a federal power, not one shared with the provinces? Is extending marriage to everyone of the same sex consistent with the Charter?

Legal experts say it's a good bet the Supreme Court will answer "yes" on all counts. With that approval, the bill will be put to a free vote in the House of Commons, maybe not until next year. Social conservatives will press Liberal backbenchers to side with Alliance MPs and vote the law down. What that would change, though, is not clear, since provincial courts have already ruled in favour of same-sex marriage, gay weddings would continue, at least in B.C. and Ontario. Another battle shaping up is a familiar federal-provincial clash. Ralph Klein has vowed a veto to let same-sex marriages happen in his Alberta. But it's not obvious how the province can make good on that pledge. Ottawa has the constitutional authority to define marriage. Provinces handle the administration. Even if Klein evokes that so-called notwithstanding clause, some constitutional lawyers say he can't nullify that division of authority. Although only a Supreme Court ruling could ultimately settle the dispute, University of Alberta law professor Barbara Billingsley says defining marriage "inside like a matter for the federal government."

Party strategists are now assessing how big an issue gay marriage might be in the next federal election, which could be as early as next spring. Some polls show Canadians about evenly split on the question. Toews claims an advantage for the Alliance, contending that those who oppose same-sex marriages are more likely to make their decision on who to vote for why on this issue, as opposed to how they support such rights. Since Alliance leaders hope their message will show up in support in their western strongholds, where Liberals hope so-called liberals under Paul Martin, who has voiced much support for same-sex marriage, and a widely expected to win the party's leadership this fall. Vogel, though, predicts that the battle won't have ended considerably by the next election. "These things get over with quicky once they happen," he says. "They're forgotten immediately." Spoken like a middle-aged married guy who's seen his share of change.

# THE PRICE OF VICTORY

Bush's popularity may be eroded by the growing number of coffins arriving from Iraq

**IT WAS THE STUFF** that presidential campaign commercials are made of. On May 1, a flight-suited George W. Bush, the former National Guard pilot turned commander in chief, swooped down to the deck of a U.S. aircraft carrier to press the flesh with victory-bushed sailors and Marines. There was red, white and blue bunting, an airbray band and speeches before a cheering crowd declaring Saddam Hussein vanquished, armed to resist hostilities, and Iraq liberated. Two-and-a-half months later, however, the continuing violence in the crucible of civilization is rocking the Republicans' carefully planned course to the November 2004 election. While pundits aren't ready to cry swamp, bog, or quagmire, let alone invoke the adjective *perfidia*, a consensus is building—America's slugging it out in Baghdad isn't looking like such an unequal success anymore.

A typical day in Iraq now sees 12 guerrilla attacks against American troops. That is, on average, 22 wounded soldiers, and even Sean and Stephen-dipped coffins making the long flight home from the Middle East every week. Papers and magazines in the U.S. have already taken to running Vietnam-style photo spreads of the smiling faces of the recently departed. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is now staggering through the desert at an occupation force of 147,000 U.S. and 13,200 allied troops, and battle-weary grunts who expected to rotate home later this summer were told last week that their stay has been indefinitely extended. The cost of the American military presence in Iraq has ballooned to \$3.4 billion a month, double the Pentagon's earlier estimate, as while when the White House is raking up a record \$384.55 billion annual budget deficit, and unemployment is at a 14-year high.

Buffeted by continuing questions about overstated intelligence assessments and Saddam's so-far non-existent weapons of mass destruction, Bush has seen his approval rating drop by as much as 16 points since Baghdad was conquered—though at about 68 percent he can hardly be considered unpopular.

Still, he would be Democratic challenger in 2004, among weaknesses for the first time since Sept. 11, are striving to make the President's credibility an issue. And that leaves the now-boosted Bush administration in an uncomfortable position: playing defense.

Perhaps even more worrying for the Republicans is the growing chorus of military and security experts—the people who just a few months ago were applauding Bush's decision to go to war—now saying that the administration should have seen it all coming. "The kind of continuing resistance in Iraq was almost inevitable," says Anthony Corrao, an analyst with the Center for Strategic & International Studies in Washington. "If there is a failure, it's in people not understanding the security effort that would be required, and underestimating how entrenched Saddam's Baathist regime was."

In Washington, there is a growing sense that Pentagon gloss and administration officials are guilty of believing their own overhyped predictions, about everything from surrender-inducing "shock and awe" airstrikes, and the joyous welcome awaiting allied troops, to rapid reconstruction efforts paid for by free-flowing Iraqi oil. The claimed effects of Saddam's decision to invade, the years of international sanctions, and widespread looting, are proving far more difficult to overcome than forecast. The process of restoring basic services and oil exports has been painfully slow, and by some estimates the rebuilding of Iraq will now take a decade and cost \$350 billion. On the ground, Marines during the first months of U.S. occupation—like the disbanding of Saddam's army, and then the confusion over converting to gay soldiers—have wasted goodwill and even heard exciting debates within the country.

The newly convened 25-member Iraqis governing council, which draws heavily from the civil community and has grown the so-called Sunnis triangle—the area bordered by Baghdad, Tikrit and Al Ramadi, Saddam's power centers, where most of the



fighting is taking place—may only make more so. As one Iraqi opposition leader. According to Sarah Roberts, a political scientist and professor of the Washington-based Iraq National Group, the gap between U.S. rhetoric and reality has left the populace disillusioned. "America must not fear democ-

acy in Iraq," he says. "What we need most is for Bush to announce a political process and a rough timetable for handing over power. People can endure hardship, they can wait, but only if they know there is light at the end of the tunnel."

The continued runblings on Iraq are being

felt in London as well. Tony Blair, Bush's staunchest defender and ally in the efforts to oust Saddam, has also been caught up in the controversy over non-existent weapons of mass destruction and inaccurate intelligence reports—like claims that Iraq had acquired uranium from Niger appear to have come

from British intelligence. The prime minister has seen his personal popularity plummet (a recent London Times poll found 54 percent of respondents now don't trust Blair "as far as they could throw him"), while his Labour government is bedeviled by criminal strife. A round the world tour, including a stop in Washington last week to address a joint session of Congress, has only fanned anger back home.

Richard Sennett, a sociologist at the London School of Economics, says Blair's current problems appear deeper than Bush's because of widespread discontent with the way his government operates. "Labour has proven to be very good at winning arguments, but the public is starting to feel this constant we-know-better attitude is arrogant," says Sennett. The war deeply divided Britain and was unpopular among traditional Labour supporters. Blair, who won barely-back majorities by promising a new, more responsive style of government, is now perceived as no better than previous PMs. "It's like a long-term marriage—once the honeymoon wears off, questions of fidelity and honesty are what matter," says Sennett.

Blair's worse problems aren't ending, but there seems little doubt that his administration's decision to focus pre-war attention on Saddam's supposed weapons of mass destruction has been a grave. There were always other reasons—strategic and resource, revealing the way of the Middle East, removing a tyrant, teaching an old adversary a lesson—why Washington felt it was in America's best interests to overthrow Saddam. But by overlooking efforts to find a diplomatic solution, and arguing that Saddam's long-standing weapons program were an immediate threat to world security, Bush's team has left itself vulnerable to charges it misjudged public opinion.

Michael O'Hanlon, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, a Washington think-tank, says he doubts the current facts over military off-peak scandal proportions. But when combined with the other challenges facing Bush—Bogging economy, a crisis in the health care system, budget deficits—it adds a gulf of doubt to a spreading fear. "In my judgment, the American people would not have supported the war if not for the arguments about Saddam's weapons,"

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he says. And no matter who ends up taking the blame for the faulty intelligence presented to Congress, the UN and the world public, many people are starting to think they were duped. "We didn't have quite the rush to war as the administration claimed," says O'Hanlon, who supported Bush's decision. "Now it seems that we could have spent three or four months trying to forge an alliance that the whole world could have accepted."

The Republicans are already worried about Bush's precipitous drop in the approval polls—down 20 points in just 10 days, according to a recent Washington Post/ABC News survey. They are also lashing out at negative media coverage—induced by a report on plunging morale among U.S. soldiers in Iraq last week, a White House source responded by pointing out that the journalist, Jeffrey Keenan, is both openly gay and Canadian. But Bush advisers continue to take solace from the loss that million-fold of potential Democratic opponents for 2004. The President's most effective in-person, former Vermont governor Howard Dean, and John Kerry, a senator from Massachusetts, were favoured by, respectively, just eight and 12 per cent of voters in a recent national poll.

Andrew Kishel, director of the Pew Research Center, notes that Bush's approval ratings are still above pre-Sept. 11 levels, and remain high on questions of security and the war in Afghanistan. It may be tempting to look for parallels between the current president and the first, but Kishel notes that after his second term in 1996 Clinton was the favorite of the American public. He changed "George W. Bush's early policy adaptation the economy, but also in the conduct of foreign policy," says Kishel. "Commander-in-chief a back on the presidential job qualification list." Creditability does matter to U.S. voters, but with a few decades of scandals behind them, they have learned to be relatively tolerant of missteps. "For an American politician, engagement is different than lying," says Kishel.

But Republicans may not be able to control what events on the ground in Iraq do to their re-election hopes. If the current rate of fighting continues, there would be 200 more dead and 1,500 more wounded U.S. soldiers before November 2004 rolls around. And those are the kind of grim numbers that raise quick military "victories" into pallid reality in defeat.

INSURANCE | BY BRIAN BERGMAN



## NOWHERE TO TURN

### Saskatchewan's no-fault system adds to a farm couple's woes after their son's death

Shocking an already insurance prone wife—an average 20 per cent hike in the last year in premiums with private insurance—hasn't helped a couple. The time to build on a new farm was when rates soared 24 per cent between March 2002 and March 2003 and nearly cut Premier Bernard Lord the \$9.5 million. But Saskatchewan's no-fault system has other problems. Macdonald Calgary Bureau Chief Brian Bergman reports

after visiting the crash site (above), Gordon Kolsh believes his son died needlessly

unwashed "Wine country." Terry was in the cab, pinned under the wheels, when a fire erupted. "He died a violent death and there was nothing left," recalls Gordon, his voice shaking as he sits on his side, wiping tears from his face. "We had no one to turn to."

When he visited the crash site early this morning, Gordon said there were no signs warning drivers approaching from the south that the road is about to end. The Kolshes hired Regina engineer Carl Smith to reconstruct what might have happened. Smith concluded that the placement of a standard reflective T-intersection sign—as seen on a similar dead-end road less than five km across away—could have prevented the fatality. The RCMP, which conducted its own investigation, was less categorical. The lack of a sign may have been a contributing factor, they said, but the placement of signs, or lack thereof, is not a police matter. The RCMP told the Kolshes that only because was to take the matter to civil court.

But that's the rub. Under the province's no-fault auto insurance policy, uninsured

by Saskatchewan Government Insurance, a Crown corporation, the Kolshes cannot sue for pain and suffering resulting from their son's death. And even if they could, civil authorities like the municipality responsible for the roads around Regina are specifically exempted from liability.

Stymied on the legal front, the Kolshes went after the politicians. They tried to meet with Maynard Seering, the minister responsible for Saskatchewan's Crown corporations, but he declined. Last summer, they confronted Premier Lorne Calvert while he was on a bus tour of the province. Calvert listened to their story and told his officials to set up the meeting with Seering. It took place last August, but nothing changed. The government stuck to its position that SGI had fulfilled its obligations to the Kolshes by paying out \$100,000 in death benefits and a further \$5,000 for Terry's funeral. The Kolshes say such compensation is grossly inadequate, given the critical role Terry played in helping his firm. Moreover, they feel they have been denied their day in court and the chance to prove that negligence on the part of the road municipality led to their son's death. "There is no justice here," says Gordon. "Not Terry or for us."

No fault auto insurance, which sets out prescribed benefits regardless of the circumstances of the accident, has been controversial in Saskatchewan since its introduction in 1979 (similar plans exist in Manitoba and Quebec). For years, a coalition representing western farmers lobbied to have the policy repealed. Kevin Terry, who heads the Saskatchewan Coalition Against No Fault, says that of the 3,000 injury and fatality cases his group has dealt with in the past five years, the Kolshes are perhaps the saddest. "I have you have a young man and an accident that might have been prevented, and no one is held accountable." Saskatchewan Party MLA Dean Wall, the opposition's critic for Crown corporations, echoes the sentiment. "That doesn't seem terribly fair for people like them and many, many others."

The Kolshes have been pursuing for a second meeting with Calvert, but no avail. For the Saskatchewan government, Terry's death is clearly a closed case. Per Gordon and Edith Kolsh, that can never be so. Another Saskatchewaner they died so harshly almost three years ago still has no warning signs.



"I convinced myself I wouldn't get caught," says O'Connor, now in a North Carolina prison.

# DRUG MULES

Transporting narcotics seems the answer to their problems, reports **SUSAN MCCLELLAND**. Big mistake.

**IT WAS AN** offer Mary O'Connor couldn't refuse. The man driving across from her in the seedy Toronto diner was promising a week's paid vacation at a luxury resort in Jamaica, cash for clothing and toiletries before departure, spending money while there, and \$5,000 when she got home. There was only one condition she had to smuggle cocaine back to Canada. Sipping a rum and coke, O'Connor considered the risks. It was November 2001 and the terrorist attacks were still fresh on cautious officials' minds, so drug mules wouldn't be a primary concern for border officials, O'Connor thought. In any event, she figured they wouldn't be looking for someone like her—someone, well groomed, conservatively and stylishly dressed, middle-aged and Caucasian.

O'Connor also desperately needed the

money—she had started using cocaine again after being straight for three years, and her habit was costly—she was behind on the rent for her \$4,500-a-month apartment, and her daughter needed help with college tuition. It was more than she could support on her \$30,000-a-year job as an office administrator, so she pushed from her dealer, Gus, was appealing. In part because O'Connor had met other women who had successfully acted as mules. "I convinced myself I wouldn't get caught," she says. "Cocaine traffickers look for someone like me—someone with a home, a good job, maybe someone who uses drugs, but not so much that they look like a police and have a criminal record, which would be a red flag at customs."

O'Connor left for her drug run on Nov. 10, 2001. On her return flight from Jamaica to



Tenants a week later, while connecting through Charlotte, N.C., she was apprehended. Officials there had received an anonymous tip about her, and they found almost a kilogram of cocaine base—a node-like product obtained from the first stages of refining cocaine—on fake buttocks and the pillow handles of her suitcase. The cocaine was intended for Canada or England, says O'Connor, who is now serving a 3½-year sentence at the North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women in Raleigh. "I thought everything would be fine," she told Maclean's. "I was a fool."

O'Connor isn't alone. Drug traffickers' use of mail has skyrocketed after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, largely because heightened border security made it more difficult for dealers to deliver large narcotic shipments to sites in North America and Europe. It's gotten so bad that the United Nations' Office on Drugs and Crime warned earlier this year that one in 10 passengers flying from Jamaica to the United Kingdom is a drug courier. Other drug routes are pass, single mothers' Jamaica, in particular, has become a popular transit point for Colombian heroin and cocaine, narcotics smugglers who are cautious of that island state's aim to slash its nine per cent of England's female prison population.

There are no smaller versions for Canada, but their plenty of accredited couriers to suggest that dealers are carrying an increasing share of the estimated 30 tonnes of cocaine and two tonnes of heroin imported into the country annually. In May, a former Miss Guyana beauty pageant in a wig, who has been in jail 23 times arrested at the airport at Toronto's Pearson International Airport with \$1 million worth of cocaine in her luggage. "The drug was a real very small bagging," says RCMP Staff Sgt. Bill Matheson, commander of the Toronto Airport Drug Enforcement Unit. "We haven't backed off one ton in investigating trafficking, but we know a lot is still getting through."

The bulk of illegal narcotics is imported into Canada in larger scale shipments controlled by organized crime groups. Legally challenging, these shipments tend to come in only a couple of times a year, says Matheson, whereas drug couriers offer the dealer a steady supply. Often, numerous mailers will be placed on the same flight, a practice that has been dubbed "steagobagging." The theory is that if one mailer gets caught,



O'Connor volunteered, Callum says she was coerced, but they show the same fate

from the divers attention and the others go undisturbed.

Authorities say the vast majority of Canada's drug trade is made up of airplane flights that land at Pearson. The drugs are intended for Canadian cities such as Europe and the United States. But Keith Hurd, commander of the violent drug section of the Vancouver police, says his officers are tracking more male dealers who pick up cocaine arriving at the port of Vancouver for shipment into other parts of Canada and the U.S. Traffickers even recruit children to do their dirty work. In 1996, several Hamilton kids who had swallowed pellets of cocaine were hospitalized after arriving at Vancouver. The pellets are usually wrapped in condoms or other plastic products and swallowed by drug dealers. It's a dangerous practice if the pellets lodge off the tongue or in the esophagus, as in the case of the 12-year-old boy who died in 1996.

Most males, however, for many, enter the business willingly. But that isn't always the case—police are increasingly learning of women who are forced into the drug trade. In 2000, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled a lower court ruling that found Minnesota state not guilty of opposing two kilograms of heroin into the country in 1994. Rose, who was a 21-year-old university student and model at the time of her crime, was recruited by a man in her home city of St. Ignace, the town, likely a member of one of Eastern Europe's violent organized crime rings, nervous for drug and prostitution trafficking, threatened to kill Rose's mother if she didn't comply. Rose successfully proved that she acted under duress.

Justine Callum, who is currently at the North Carolina Correctional Institution for

Women serving a 7½-year sentence for cocaine smuggling, adds another story. Callum, 54, flew to Jamaica, in early 2001 to care for her elderly mother, who had broken her hip. On her way to the airport to return to Toronto, she claims, she was kidnapped by drug traffickers and held for two days in a rural Montego Bay village. Her captors, who had stolen her identification, threatened to harm her two teenage sons staying with a relative in Montreal if she didn't cooperate. "They said they had people in Montego Bay and Toronto who would help me through customs," says Callum. "They then held guns to my head and said that if I said anything, my kids would be killed."

Callum swallowed more than 700 grams of cocaine. Like Mary, she was then put on a flight that connected in Charlotte. On the trip, she didn't eat and she emptied her stomach, which was sore and swollen from the ingested drugs. "I tried to bring attention to myself," she says. "I couldn't turn myself in because someone was watching me." Without commenting on Callum's case details, the RCMP's Matheson says her tale is similar to others he has heard. "There is a certain amount of gender control used with female drug mules," says Matheson. "They're often coerced in some way or another."

**SMALL COTTAGES** But the sprawling, multi-million-dollar North Carolina prison where O'Connor now serves time, is a walled outdoor. On the morning of her departure, the traffickers changed her itinerary in North Carolina. "Maybe I was set up because I wasn't co-operating," she says. "Maybe I was a decoy to draw other women could get through—I don't know. I actually thought these guys would look after me."

**DRUG MULES** are now regularly used to ship cocaine and heroin from South America and Asia to Europe and North America. Often, poverty is a common denominator, whether the mules are recruited in Third World countries or the West. "In the past, women might be acting as mules to get some cash for Christmas present," says Kim Peery, executive director of the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies. "Now the practice is seen as a survival technique."

Such economic realities were cited in a recent legal decision by Ontario Superior Court Judge Justice Helle, who sentenced two women, one of whom was Jamaican, to house arrest instead of prison for their roles

promised headstart hotel, but to a grand villa in the countryside. Amid a Jamaican shantytown, the two-story stone building, with wrought-iron gates, satellite TV and expensive surround sound stereo, was strikingly out of place—the figure was owned by one of the island's drug barons. While there, O'Connor met other drug mules, including two teenage boys picking up cocaine they were taking in Miami. O'Connor ate gourmet food and had an unlimited supply of cocaine at her disposal—but she wasn't allowed to leave the grounds.

Two days before she was scheduled to return to Toronto, the traffickers showed her how they wanted her to transport the cocaine. "They gave me a pill that would prevent me from going to the washroom and passing the drugs on the plane," she explains. "Then I was shown the cocaine wrapped in cellophane. I was to swallow one pellet, the size of my thumb, every 20 minutes. I wouldn't be allowed to eat, just a cracker and a few sips of water between pills. When I landed in Toronto, someone would meet me at the airport, take me to a hotel and give me another pill to help me pass the drugs."

O'Connor had an upset stomach from seeing this and didn't enter the drug before, and couldn't swallow the cocaine even if she wanted to. Eventually the dealer showed her how to carry the drugs in her baggy, which a welder outfitted. On the morning of her departure, the traffickers changed her itinerary in North Carolina. "Maybe I was set up because I wasn't co-operating," she says. "Maybe I was a decoy to draw other women could get through—I don't know. I actually thought these guys would look after me."

**DRUG MULES** are now regularly used to ship cocaine and heroin from South America and Asia to Europe and North America. Often, poverty is a common denominator, whether the mules are recruited in Third World countries or the West. "In the past, women might be acting as mules to get some cash for Christmas present," says Kim Peery, executive director of the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies. "Now the practice is seen as a survival technique."

Such economic realities were cited in a recent legal decision by Ontario Superior Court Judge Justice Helle, who sentenced two women, one of whom was Jamaican, to house arrest instead of prison for their roles



Callum says drug dealers threatened to harm her family if she didn't co-operate

to cocaine mules. Drug-trafficking penalties can carry a maximum sentence of life in prison, but, in Helle's decision, criticized by some as too lenient, is under appeal. Helle was also the international poverty and the traffickers' decision. Peery says that the future governing segment of the prison population around the world a poor woman. "Their crimes are directly linked to lack in social programs, inadequate wages and lack of education," she adds.

That said, many mules are recruited because they are already linked to the drug underworld. Sarah and Penny (not their real names) were introduced into the trade while partying at an after-hours bar above a suburban Toronto auto body shop. In that room, usually reverberating with reggae, rap and hip-hop, accommodations about 60 people. When remains of arriving on nights in 1996, they met a man called "Peter" who, they found out later, was a dealer. Peter was talking back, cheeky, loud. Sarah's husband had just left her and she was supporting her two young children on a secretary's salary of \$34,000 a year. Peery, again once factory

worker who was then only 18, wanted to make some extra money so she could visit her ailing great grandmother in Scotland.

The two women returned to the bar a few more times, and on the last time Sarah was a sympathetic listener. Within a month, she asked them to go to Jamaica to pick up more cocaine. Sarah was reluctant to take her kids, he said. They'd get a vacation out of the deal and \$3,500 each gram of cocaine they brought back to Toronto. Sarah and Penny agreed to go, but asked very few questions about the business. "We didn't want to be in a position where we knew too much and could put ourselves or our families in danger," says Peery, who now works for a modeling company.

The contact person in Montego Bay was a man called "the Doctor." Peery, a large woman, could swallow more than 140 pills of cocaine—about 700 grams—on a visit for a long time. The Doctor also wanted some of the cocaine shipped into Miami, a month later. Peery and Sarah made two successful runs to that city. They were arrested by police on their third attempt, both were



Matthews, showing confiscated drugs at Pearson, says rules provide the market with a steady supply, just over 100 grams of cocaine per day, seized by authorities (opposite)

convicted and sentenced to 36 months in prison. "It looked like a good deal at the time," says Penny. "We were both young and all we were thinking about was the cash. Anything, including that \$8 an hour factory job, is better than sitting in prison and eating eight cents for disgusting toilet."

**JANICE'S APARTMENT** in her hometown of St. Catharines, Ont., is sparsely and inexpensively furnished (although Janice, a convicted drug dealer, has served time in the United States, where her name is public information, she, like Penny and Keith, agreed to talk to *Maclean's* on condition of anonymity, so they are all now legally employed in Canada). The 36-year-old, ex-waitress *The Maury Povich Show* cost-dresser "I have a boyfriend now," Janice says, looking away from the TV. "I never thought anyone would want to be with me." Her life has been a long way since 1998, when she was convicted of trying to sell 700 grams of cocaine (see Miami) and sentenced to 2½ years in prison. Janice, who just got a job

as a cook in a fast-food restaurant, designs and sews many of her own clothes and the dreams of one day having her own label. "A woman at a hair salon told two stars of mine once," she says proudly.

But there is a huge rift in her relationship with her daughter, Kaitlin (she not her real name). Janice has Kaitlin's eight-year-old pink bedroom with stuffed animals, dolls and this beeping, outgoing TV. "She was this beeping, outgoing, confident baby," says Janice, holding a black-and-white photo of the girl. After their forced separation, Kaitlin and her mother now fight constantly. "She's such an unhappy kid," says Janice. "No matter how much time I spend with her, she never smiles. She tells everyone what I did. She walks up to strangers and says, 'Hey, my mother was in jail for drug smuggling.' It could be her way of getting back at me, punishing me for not being there."

Janice, who left home at 13 because she was being physically abused by her stepdad, was a race mother. She married Kaitlin's father, but he was living in Canada illegally

and was deported home to Jamaica shortly after Kaitlin's birth. On welfare, Janice needed extra cash and began selling crack cocaine with a female friend she had met in her apartment building. "I never used the crack," says Janice. "I wasn't even a partner. I wanted to be a lawyer. I was just a car."

With some of her crack profits, Janice went on vacation to Jamaica to visit Kaitlin, then 2, could see her dad. The night before they were to return home, a dealer proposed that Janice take some cocaine with her. She agreed and it was a smooth run, earning her \$4,000. A few weeks later, she did it again. "It was like, 'What do this, then I don't have to sell crack anymore,'" Janice made two more successful trips, transporting the drugs by smuggling them. On the third haul, she transferred airlines in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and was arrested as the disembarked. Janice thinks she was set up. "The other girls who were doing this slept with the cops who ran the show," she says. "I wouldn't, so I think they let me take a fall."

Kaitlin had been with her on the other runs. But the time, Janice had left her daughter in Toronto in the care of a drug dealer's girlfriend. Upon her arrest, the dealer, known to Janice only as "D," dropped the child off with Janice's cousin. "I've never been so scared in my life," she says. "The time I was allowed to make a phone call, Kaitlin was safe, thank God. I was still just thinking about it."

While Janice was in jail, the contents of her apartment, including about \$15,000 in cash from her previous drug runs, were stolen. Kaitlin went to live with her grandmother in a farming community west of the Chatham-Kent area. She spent a total of 22 months in U.S. jails before being returned, as part of a bilateral prisoner-transfer program, to Canada to complete her sentence. Ever since, her relationship with Kaitlin has been strained. "No matter how much time I spend with her, she never smiles," says Janice. "All I wanted was a better life for me and Kaitlin. I made things so much worse."

**IT'S A HUMID** June day in Toronto and Kaitlin (her not real name) says (and so does a pal at an arcade bar on the city's business district, only a few kilometers away from the place where her mother, Mary O'Connor, agreed to become a drug mule. The dark-haired, late-20-year-old, now now works in public relations, has just finished filing out the Correctional Canada paper-



work so that her mother can complete her sentence in Ontario.

Kelly was enrolled in criminology courses at Seneca College when her mother became a drug smuggler. She had known that Mary was back on drugs and in trouble. They were living together, Kelly opened a letter from the apartment superintendent stating that they owed \$4,000 in back rent. "When I confronted mom, she said she'd have to go away for a while," says Kelly. "She and I went to get down, but I knew she was going to do something bad. I asked her not to go. She said she was a big girl

and could take care of herself."

After her arrest, O'Connor, fearful of further trouble with the drug ring, asked Kelly to move out of the apartment. Since then, a collection agency has been calling for the rent arrears. But Kelly, who had to drop out of school and take the PM job to make cash meet, is paying off her student loans and sending \$40 a month to her mother in prison and can't keep the account. Now living with her father on a long-term contract west of Toronto, she has visited O'Connor in North Carolina three times. "I thought she was going to kill herself with the cocaine," says

Kelly. "Where she's down there has to be hell, bottom." When Kelly asks her mother if she'll time out again, through O'Connor doesn't answer directly. She's already been through a drug rehab program.

O'Connor says she is finally looking at the root causes of her addiction, and plans to write a book about her experiences. "I take full responsibility for what I did," she says. "There are no excuses. I have street smarts and book smarts. Still, I let myself be duped." She hopes showing that will keep other women from being used as the drug underworld. ■



# IN DEFENCE OF FREEDOM

A top lawyer says terrorists win when due process is subverted

**THERE IS A LAND** where the government can arrest non-citizens, throw them in jail for an indefinite period of time, and then remove them from the country, all in virtual secrecy. This is a land where, for certain people, civil liberties and rights of due process don't exist. No, this is not China or Cuba. This is Canada—a country I believe understood the insouciant importance of safeguarding civil liberties. But against those whom Ottawa security determines are a threat to national security, the government can act, and is now acting in alarming ways. This Canada goes mad—Shadoofa (Gastanvillan Bay)—where the U.S. has imprisoned hundreds of suspected terrorists without trial—outlaw the government and the judiciary.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act allows the immigration minister and solicitor general to issue a "security certificate" against a foreign visitor or an individual with permanent resident status, declaring that person "inadmissible" to Canada. The certificate, based on information provided by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, has been used 27 times in the last 16 years, including five cases since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

The security concerns listed in the act are general and vague, and include "engaging in terrorism, or acts of violence that would or might endanger the lives or safety of persons in Canada," or simply being a "danger to the security of Canada." Under the certificate, a foreign visitor is immediately subject to arrest and can be held indefinitely without bail. For a person with permanent resident status, a Refugee Court judge must start a review within 45 hours. If the judge finds the detention warranted, the permanent resident can be held without our review for six months. Incredibly, neither the accused nor his lawyer is entitled to be present when the judge determines if further detention is warranted.

In both cases, by the seventh day of custody, a Federal Court judge must start to

review the government's evidence. Again, neither the accused nor his lawyer is entitled to be present. The evidence can be hearsay, double hearsay, triple hearsay. It's the judge and government lawyers sitting together making fundamental decisions about someone's liberty, without them being there to listen, object, question, present or even to argue.

A summary of the evidence must eventually be presented to the accused, but even then the government can withhold any or all evidence if a judge rules that providing the information risks national security. In a subsequent hearing, the accused is given an opportunity to be heard, but this hearing is inherently unfair because the accused can only respond to the summary of the allegations. At the hearing, the judge does not determine whether the accused is actually

**IF WE REALLY believe in democracy, we must have faith enough to fight for its preservation with the tools of freedom**

a security threat or whether the secret evidence is reliable. The judge's only role is to assess whether the issuance of the certificate was "reasonable." Only three times has a certificate been overturned on review. In one case, a certificate against Mohamed Jibullah, an Egyptian refugee claimant, was overturned in 2000. However, Jibullah was arrested the following summer under another security certificate, and the father of six has been held in solitary confinement in Toronto's Metro West Detention Centre ever since.

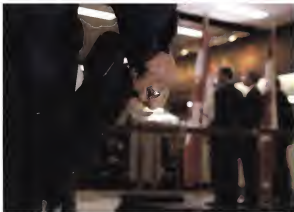
The accused cannot appeal and can be quickly deported, even to a country where he may be tortured. Worse, the accused's lawyer is kept in the dark about the evi-

dence. Brian Engel is a thoughtful Ottawa lawyer doing his best to represent Mohamed Haddad, a 35-year-old Algerian refugee who has been held in protective custody since his arrest in the capital in December 2001 on suspicion of being an al-Qaeda operative. He says the summary of the evidence against his client is "ridiculously vague." What, he wonders, if the government has arrested the wrong person? How can the wrongfully accused defend themselves if they have no idea what the evidence is?

It's astounding that we are living under a government that, in defence of freedom and liberty, can keep someone not charged with any crime in solitary confinement for years based on secret information. It's terrible to contemplate that people can lose their livelihood based on information they cannot question. It's unthinkable that such people have absolutely no right of appeal or review, a glaring violation of a basic tenet of the rule of law: the right to appeal the decision of a lower court.

We are living in a time when the *dehors de l'ordonnance* is not everyone's motto. But that doesn't mean we are supposed to simply trust the government is not acting on correct information. The rule of law is the bedrock of our nation, not blind faith in the unbridled judgment of government officials. Any country that loses by a rule of "trust on, or in, no need for free process," is totalitarian. We should be astounded that there is a process in security cases that can be compared to the infamous Star Chamber, a medieval English court that was dismantled by Parliament in 1641, but whose name survives to describe arbitrary, secretive proceedings.

The challenge is to figure out a way to deal with the threat of terrorism without losing the freedoms that make Canada the great nation it is. Everyone must be able to respond to their concerns, whether in the realm of a criminal trial or a security hearing. We must demand that persons threat-



ened with loss of liberty, livelihood and possibly life, be provided with some voice in this process who can protect them from false and unsupported allegations. Let the lawyer for the accused participate in the meetings with judge and government. Let a lawyer have some opportunity to effectively question the accusations. I shudder at the thought of those who have suffered wrongful convictions. It's terrifying that in ordinary criminal cases, following a trial by judge and jury, after a full opportunity to cross-examine one's accusers and question all the government's evidence, mistakes are still made.

How many mistakes could the government be making in security cases? Agents working for CSIS respond to tips. Those tips in criminal cases can be uncovered through independent investigations and cross-examination. But with security issues decided in secrecy, there is virtually no way of knowing whether the tipster has not erred in the desperate fight against terrorism. It's not beyond the realm of possibility that a security certificate is issued based on information

Sept. 11 brought more than just increased security at Pearson International Airport

from corrupt government agents.

History teaches that grave threats to liberty often come in times of urgency, when constitutional rights seem too extravagant to endure. When our nation allows fundamental freedoms to be sacrificed, we in vainly come to regret it. Earl Warren, former chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, wrote over 35 years ago: "It would indeed be ironic if, in the name of national defence, we would sanction the subversion of one of those liberties which make the defence of our nation worthwhile."

In the global struggle against terrorism, Canadians are in possession of the ultimate weapon. It's the weapon of an unassailable idea—individual rights, liberty and the dignity of the individual. It would be a tragic paradox if we should surrender any part of this heritage, for we should then have done ourselves from within what we fear most from without. We must remain forever vigilant about any encroachments on per-

sonal freedom and individual liberty, of citizens and non-citizens alike.

Terrorism is an acute danger and al-Qaeda is operating inside Canada, it's a genuine danger—a genuine fifth column. In fact, the U.S. continues to gather intelligence indicating that Canada may have been for certain terrorist cells. We should not forget people like Ahmed Ressam, who was arrested crossing the U.S. border from Canada in December 1999 with explosive material that he admitted was intended for the destruction of the Los Angeles airport. But, Ressam's conviction came without jeopardizing the rule of law. I wholeheartedly support the "lock-them-up-and-throw-away-the-key" section. But I say, first provide them with the kind of justice that makes Canada great. As Benjamin Franklin said: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a fake economy safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." We defend our own ends if we adopt the techniques of totalitarianism. If we really believe in democracy, we must have faith enough to fight for its preservation with the tools of freedom. ■



## WRITING A NEW PREFACE

There's no bulk runs at this Victoria firm—it takes orders first, then prints books

**NEAR THE** turn of the last century, a book vendor named Robert Burns Bond travelled the country by rail, lugging trunks of books with him. He sold his wares at each stop on the train set, engine chugging, in the saloons. As passengers sorted themselves out and luggage was loaded and unloaded, Bond would dash to the local bookstore, leaving a supply of books and picking up orders for

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the next voyage. Just before one of his trips, he was asked by his employer at the Methodist Book and Publishing House to take along and read the galley of a new book of poetry. The publisher was interested in Bond's opinion of the work. As the train rattled west from

his home base of Toronto and Bond began to read the proofs, he couldn't help but chuckle. The more he chortled, the more he drew the attention of fellow passengers. Before long, Bond, a man blessed with a wonderful speaking voice, was reciting aloud the verse of Robert Service, the famed author of "The Cremation of Sam McGee." By the time Bond reached the West Coast, he'd so enthralled

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Column | DONALD COSE



## 'THE PATH BACK TO SANITY'

Microsoft's dramatic decision to end stock options marks the end of two eras

**MICROSOFT** (nicknamed Mr. Softy by traders for its ticker symbol of MSFT) shook up the overlapping worlds of technology and finance this month. The company's announcement that it was ending its employee stock option program is Microsoft's most significant event since it opened as Windows to the PC market. The company that enriched some people with options that any other employer has signaled the end of two eras.

First to go was the era of rapid sales growth for large-capitalization tech stocks. That ended with the recession which arrived shortly after the millennium. The company that accounts for about 10 per cent of the market capitalization weight of Nasdaq, roughly equal to the combined value of Intel, Dell, Applied Materials, Sun Microsystems and Amazon.com now, in effect, admits it sees no chance of a return to the days when the computer market could generate enough growth to justify high price earnings ratios and stock options.

Second to go (eventually) will be the era of massive redundancy in corporate reported earnings through the Big Lie of stock options. The optionized minority of us in the financial world community who have been exposed to this legalized large-scale fraud over the past five years can find it better about the change. Not only did Nasdaq trade at its peak in March 2000 at the astronomical level of 321, came reported earnings, but those earnings were vastly overstated because tech companies limited that options were free. This has never been their approach to corporate cases: the tech deducted option costs from their corporate income taxes, which meant reported earnings per share showed, in effect, option costs at a big discount. Microsoft, which reported earnings of US\$1.41 per share last year, would have used US\$8 cents with options included. Nasdaq companies aren't alone. US\$1's accounting analyst has been complaining that "the quality of earnings for the Standard & Poor's 500, from an accounting standpoint, is the

worst it has been in more than a decade." Perhaps things are now looking up.

How substantial have been the personal option profits that never showed up in earnings statements? Goldman Sachs estimates that Microsoft people cashed US\$50 billion in option gains from 1993 through 2002. California, currently in fiscal collapse, reported that its residents paid capital gains taxes on US\$15 billion in stock option gains in the year 2000. Naturally, the state government spent all that money on budgeted for more bigger capital gains tax revenues for future years. Why not? Wall Street's skills and mountebanks and tech stocks had nowhere to go but up.

What should an investor think of the honesty of management that insists the costs of options that made CEOs and other insiders

**THOSE OF us analysts who have been exposing this legalized large-scale fraud over the past five years can feel better about the future**

rich beyond the dreams of Croesus should not be reported to stockholders, but should be deducted from taxable income when the company reports to government? Such minutiae in Warren Buffett, former Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker and former Securities and Exchange Commission chairman Arthur Levitt argue forcefully that this practice was at the root of the excesses of the 1990s that triggered the stock market crash and recession.

Writing in Britain's *Financial Times* after Microsoft's options announcement, columnist John Mender summed it up: "Everyone could deduce themselves that options came free. Not unusually, they were dispensed to the contents to chief executives and employees. American executives could then rejoice in the perverse fact that this invi-

ble cost yielded a visible credit to the profit and loss account because it was tax-deductible. By some estimates, more than 90 per cent of share repurchases (made by publicly traded companies) in the market's peak year of 2000 went to managers and employees. So corporate balance sheets now carry a legacy of excess leverage [debt]. The likes of WorldCom and Enron were more pathologically extreme. Everyone who up to something. And where stock options continue to be used, everyone will be. Let us hope that Microsoft's move is a milestone on the path back to sanity."

Microsoft will now be a "normal" company that pays out employees in ways that show up in earnings statements, and pays dividends to stockholders. Gates & Co. sit on US\$44 billion in cash, which corresponds to US\$508 million at current low share price, almost twice. Since President George W. Bush won his battle to limit taxes on dividends to the same low rate (15 per cent) as the tax on capital gains, that other phony segment of Nasdaq companies will have to change. It's no longer wishes to say, "We don't pay dividends, which are heavily taxed, because we use the money to buy in stock, which means bigger capital gains for stockholders." That old line was another Big Lie, because managers and their companies' executives to buy back stock to hide the scale of stock option issuance. This seemingly plausible line of defense for tech company CEOs is now crumbling, three years too late to save the savings of millions, and the global economy. And reality is obvious: Congress, the giant global bank, last week announced it will move away from stock options and buybacks, freeing up money for bigger dividends.

The rest of Silicon Valley is reacting in horror to Bill Gates's conversion. It's spending millions of dollars in lobbying to make Democratic supporters in Congress to try to present changes in the mounting rules to show the crisis of options. But the Gates of Redmond shall doubtless prevail.

There is joy, we are assured, in heaven when one sinner repents. There must have been a glorious celebration within the Pearly Gates when Bill Gates tossed up. The truth shall make you free—which is that options never were.

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# 'I WAS ABSOLUTELY ALARMED'

A leading actor says urgent steps are needed to promote Canadian TV drama

**IN THE TV SHOW** Our Sash, he played an earnest Montrealer searching for truth and justice. Today, Toronto actor/writer Paul Gross, 44, is looking for a way to save Canadian television drama. Networks often find it cheaper to purchase American productions than to create domestic content. At the same time, the federal government will reduce the amount of money it pumps into developing new TV programming, from the \$605 million it spent this year to \$62.5 million next year. For homegrown TV to survive, Gross, who is lobbying Ottawa to maintain or increase funding, believes the system has to be overhauled to provide a steady source of financing, and the networks must be forced to air more Canadian drama. He recently spoke with *Maclean's* Associate Editor Amy Carones.

**When did you get concerned about the state of Canadian television?**

I turned around one day and realized there was nothing on anymore that was Canadian. I just was absolutely alarmed that we aren't making enough Canadian drama. It's a regulatory problem. The current principle is that we should have it, and we don't.

**What specifically?**

There was a ruling in 1999 that allowed broadcasters to threaten from their respective to make Canadian drama. As a consequence, in a seven-year span we've gone from 13 dramatic series to four. It's a progressive decline, but the role of TV is the dramatic series. It's deeply penetrating and culturally defining, and every other nation in the world understands that. They're moving toward increased domestic production and increased domestic consumption of those shows. Canada alone, among all of those countries, is moving in the opposite direction.

**Are broadcasters to blame?**

I heard an executive from Global arguing that it would be really terrific to open up the sector

up to foreign ownership. Well, I can't imagine that an American owner would be particularly interested in making a Canadian dramatic series. I think we have to be very careful about this.

**What are politicians telling you?**

Paul Martin put it very succinctly to me. In an increasingly borderless world, we have to turn to our artists to defuse the borders. I believe the bottom line for any government is job creation, and even more clearly the biggest bang for their buck, in terms of support for high-value job creation, is in the arts, specifically in television and film. So any kind of argument against supporting TV is just ludicrous.

**Why are broadcasters cutting back on Canadian content?**

The arguments that broadcasters combine



to imply is that they shouldn't be restricted as a business that pursues profits by being forced to produce more Canadian drama. But they are rarely supported and rarely protected by regulations. They don't exist in a free market. And because they have protected and guaranteed revenue, they have an obligation—as stipulated in the Broadcast Act—to support Canadian drama. Which is something they would prefer not to do because it's costly. It's a lot cheaper to buy American shows, but if they don't want restrictions on their businesses, then let's deregulate the industry and see how long

they survive. CTV and Global would be dead overnight.

**Are the broadcasters hurting financially?**

The broadcasters are profiting. CTV and Global have a revenue stream amounting to billions of dollars. But they aren't paying back into their obligation to develop Canadian content.

**Can Canadians produce shows that people actually want to watch?**

Our Sash played in more than 100 countries. It's more successful, pound for pound, than 99 per cent of the American shows ever made. Yes, our works will be watched

The government did make part of the cuts to television funding.

That's a hard fact to swallow. It does nothing to address the larger problem. We could have \$25 million more in the fund or \$25 million less in the fund, but it doesn't matter. The real problems are much larger and more intractable.

**What's the solution?**

The focus of attention ought to be on the commissioners of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. These people need to be brought to account, and personally I want to know who they are and why they are allowing themselves to be led into the false belief that they're helping. I do not believe they are executing their role, which is to implement the ambitions of the Broadcast Act. That's where it starts, and then everything else has to be sustained.

**How much support do you have in the industry for your position?**

I think it's taken a while for everyone else in the television business to get it. And I think we all should shoulder a big part of the blame for the situation we're in because we just weren't engaged enough. It's the television business and everyone, whether



you're a broadcaster or producer, you're in the same business. And right now the business is terribly unhealthy.

**What is the difference between the Canadian and U.S. television industry?**

At every stage of a show's development in the U.S., there's about an 85 per cent fail rate. Of all the pilot scripts, 85 per cent don't get made. Of the pilots made, 85 per cent don't make it into American television. Of the ones that get ordered, 85 per cent fail. In Canada, everything goes on camera, and all of our failures are out there on view.

But obviously most people don't understand that—or care.

**What about going to the U.S. to work?**

Perhaps if I was 18 and had gone to the U.S., that is where I would be living now. I've been told many different things down there that would pay me amounts of money. That being said, if things don't improve, I think I probably will have to go.

**A lot of talented young people must be looking south.**

Yeah, it takes a certain kind of commitment

from people like me and others in the industry who are willing to stay here so that people coming up understand that, "you can do anything here." Aaron Ripstein has been a terrific example in film, and people feel emboldened by him.

**Do you think the Canadian public is aware of the problem?**

I don't think they are. They'd be horrified, because the people who have the say right now grow upon Canadian drama, and you'd think they would be outraged to think that Canadian television is not being supported.



## GUILT-FREE GOOFING OFF

Scholars agree: we were born to put off to tomorrow what we could do today

The secret of getting ahead is getting started.  
—Mark Twain

**HE'S RIGHT**, of course. But it's not always as easy as all that. Think about it: how often have you put off some unpleasant or unappealing task until it is nearly too late, or worse? The deadline looms, the pressure mounts, and, finally, you wing into action. In the end, more often than not, the deed gets done. But the stress is draining. You swear you'll never put yourself through that again, but the vow is soon broken. Why, oh why, do we keep doing this to ourselves?

Then Steel knows the answer. Or, at least, he has some extremely educated guesses. An assistant professor at the University of Calgary's Faculty of Management, Steel, 36, has spent more than three years conducting

a "meta-analysis" of practices by everything overwritten on procrastination. He's pored over nearly 700 professional papers from the fields of psychology, economics, philosophy and sociology, and examined historical documents dating back 3,000 years. His conclusion? "Procrastination is our normal state of being," says Steel. "It's not procrastinating that requires effort."

Steel argues that, in terms of evolutionary psychology, humans were hard-wired from the beginning to attend to present rewards, and dangers, rather than future possibilities. When life revolved around hunting and gathering, such behaviour made perfect sense. "It meant you were going to survive, mate, feed," says Steel. But priorities started to change, first with the move to an agrarian economy, again during the Industrial

Revolution, and, more dramatically, in the current high-tech era. Goals and deadlines became increasingly long-term, as did the rewards for meeting them. Meanwhile, a tantalizing array of possible diversions—think television and, especially, the Internet—pre-empted themselves.

Small wonder, then, that we have become a society of dilly dalliers. A series of surveys culminated in 2008 show the number of people who say they are moderate procrastinators has increased from about 13 to 68 per cent, while those who admit to frequent procrastination jumped from one to six per cent. It's also the most individual who is entirely free of the vice, fully 95 per cent of respondents say they put off the avoidable at least occasionally.

While there are many dictionary defini-

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winners, though the apps have been suc-

So if you are saddled with the curse of procrastination, what can be done about it? There are, says Steel, several possible remedies. It helps to understand the link between energy levels and delay: the more tired you are, the more likely you are to tuck that



Okay, then, take a break. Just make it a short one, eh?

# WHEREVER HE LAYS HIS HAT

New York, L.A. and Toronto all want a piece of S.W.A.T. director Clark Johnson

**THERE ARE** very few big-time directors who'll let you call them at their Toronto home, then casually race for coffee around the corner. But with Clark Johnson, the 47-year-old Philadelphia born, Toronto raised actor (Hawthorne, *Life on the Street*) turned Hollywood director (S.W.A.T.), there's no problem, no manager, no supervised meeting in a hotel suite. He just ambles over the café, in a dirty T-shirt and casual pants, straight from his hairbrushed shower. But his approach is the Aug. 8 release date of his huge action movie—a remake of the '70s cop series S.W.A.T., which will star Samuel L. Jackson, Colin Farrell, Olivier Martinez, Michelle Rodriguez and LL Cool J. And Johnson will soon have to face the pitch in a more structured fashion, right? "No," he says. "I did my bit. I have 85 movie stars in this movie, guys that are on the cover of every magazine. They don't need me."

Such a blatant dismissal of Hollywood's publicity machine may explain why nobody knows who the guy is. Few people can clearly picture him as Det. Melnick Lewis, the one with the pudginess on NBC's *Law & Order* (1993-99). And few are aware that he's the brother of Tennessee jazz singers Molly and Tabitha Johnson. A director of a US\$80 million film, who also happens to be a handsome married member of one of Canada's finest performing families, should have way more profile.

Johnson is unapologetic. For the moment, there's still last-minute behind-the-scenes work to be done. He's eagerly looking forward to recording the film's score, because he's tapped the Oscar-winning composer of *Pride*, Elliot Goldenthal, to write the music. The director hopes that Goldenthal, who's married to film director Julie Taymor, will bring something special to the action genre, where sound effects are often more highly regarded than music. After spending the past few months editing S.W.A.T. in Hollywood, Johnson says there's another plus to this phase of post production. The recording will take place in New York, where Johnson also has an apartment, "out of the

evil clutches of the L.A. rubber hutches." Or so he thought. Fast-forward three weeks to Day 2 of the recording process. Johnson, Goldenthal and a 90-piece orchestra are happily ensconced in the Grand Ballrooms of the Manhattan Center, a block away from Madison Square Garden, when the studio horns arrive. The scene becomes a Hollywood cliché: Producer Nat H. Mann (*The Fast and the Furious*, XXX) sits in a room full of people, oblivious to their work, screaming into his cellphone. "I hate that scene. I hate it. I hate it." A *Boyz n the City* music sequence, also on her cell, is castigating someone who can't get her two more tickets to the New York premiere of *Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle*. Another member of the Los Angeles posse—wholly absent: Sheryl Lee Ray (*Army*)—refuses to eat with a plastic knife and fork. Soon, two of the studio's golden ears are also on cellphones, in an exaggerated attempt to track down some real information.

In this madhouse of the West Coast vs. East Coast power struggle, Johnson is like

**"MY LAST MOVIE was about Martin Luther King—I didn't want my next to be S.W.A.T., the TV series made into a movie, like *The Brady Bunch*."**

a neutral northern neighbour—embarrassed by the hyperactivity of the Hollywood cellphone powerbrokers but unable to fully relate to the remote New York music geeks. The six-foot-two former CFL sub and, on leather sofa at the back of the room, Sire, the violator missing sheet music and then film footage in Los Angeles that needs to be in New York by the next morning, but Johnson is not one to join in on minor crises.

This may be his first feature film, but he's by no means a neophyte director. After failing to catch on with the Toronto Argonauts

and a handful of feature football scenes on the '90s, Johnson went on to work in film in Toronto. He was a driver for Lee Majors, a special effects guy on David Cronenberg films, and a stuntman before landing writing gigs on Canadian TV productions, including *E.N.G.* and *Kamen and Del*. While on *Hawthorne*, he directed six episodes, educating himself in the show's signature visual style of shooting. Later, he took directing jobs on *The Heat* (Wing, NYPO) and *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* and *Third Watch*—following the professional style of each show. His awe about the civil rights movement—Raycott, for the U.S. cable channel HBO, won a Peabody Award. And he helmed the pilot episode of *The Wire* and the Emmy-winning *The Shield*, assembling the casts and setting a distinct visual tone.

Gilles took notes, and Sony's Pascal and his son producer Moritz. They approached Johnson with S.W.A.T. "I passed on it," he says. "My last movie was about Martin Luther King—I didn't really want my next one to be about S.W.A.T., the TV series made into a movie, like *The Brady Bunch*." But Johnson knew that in order to make more personal projects he'd have to earn someone a lot of money first. If S.W.A.T. is a hit, he'll use his clout to get financing for a film about his parents—an interracial couple who were civil rights activists. "They weren't in the front of the charge. There was Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X and King, and in the back were my parents throwing pamphlets."

But right now he's the head gun, trying to put his stamp on a tightly controlled studio movie. Johnson chat a lot of the film from different perspectives. Some of the footage looks like it comes from a cameraman, the same way the L.A. police attack on Rodney King in 1991 was captured on tape. Other scenes are shot from above, just as helicopter news crews filmed O.J. Simpson's fleeing white Bronco. "I call S.W.A.T. a reaction movie instead of an action movie," says Johnson. "We never set up five cameras waiting for something to explode, the camera ran along with you



and all of a sudden something explodes, and we're just as scared as you are."

The other thing Johnson did to make this movie his own was fight for the right music. Goldenthal's score delivers more action than thundering sirens. And Goldenthal has employed a variety of genres—jazz, hip hop, heavy metal and orchestral movements—to go with the film's dancing scenes and emotions. In the control room during the recording, one TV screen shows a scene that needs another scorepassion, while another gives three direct-to-camera shots. The string players produce rich, warm

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He is also tending to home matters. The single father of two is fiddling with his cellphone, trying to reply to a text message from his older daughter, Candace, 24, who is in Toronto. And he needs to get to a computer store to buy a graduation present for his younger, Michael, 17, who's in New York with him. The three of them are in almost constant contact.

"It's amusing," says the director's little sister, Molly Johnson. "He has these big things going on down there in the U.S. and he still manages to coach the basketball and baseball teams at Toronto girls' private



school basketball Hall." Johnson laughs it off. "I helped out, coached baseball and basketball. That's what kids do. I just had to get it while travelling back and forth, but that's not the girls' problem. I don't know how you get dad of the year for that." He adds the girls spent more time on the set of *S.W.A.T.* than they had on any of his other movies, with Casandra even taking a production assistant position. But Johnson admits that was "flaky" due to the presence of Farrell (*House*), Roth and Martinez (*The Fast*). "Two of the world's most desirable men," Casandra and I have this thing now," says Michaels. "Whenever it's hot outside we say, 'It is so Olivier out here.'"

Not long ago, Johnson was one of the sensations on TV. And he could be again, if he wanted to. It's 5:45 p.m. at the Manhattan Center, and the orchestra is picking up for the day, when Johnson announces to no one in particular: "I just raised my \$er and the Gay addition." He now has the attention of a room full of New Yorkers. "Yeah," he says, "it was to play the redhead's boyfriend."



Johnson doesn't sound regretful, even though he was recently complaining about his disappearing acting career. "I was in *August* because an actor didn't show up, and I was in *S.W.A.T.* for a good. But I'm the only director who here me."

Later that night Johnson is back at the theatre with Michaels in tow. Goldenthal has called in heavy metal guitarist Page Hamilton, formerly of the '90s band Mezzanite, to add more power chords, wailer mood and feedback to the bad score. Hamilton also does a one-minute take on the *S.W.A.T.* theme for an early action sequence, with

Johnson (at back) returns to the New York theatre that's recording the music for *S.W.A.T.*; stars Jackson (left) and Farrell

burlesque guitar cues that make it more successful than the original 1975 version. "That's perfect," says Johnson, "because one of the *S.W.A.T.* guys is going to really mess up here and lose his job." Even the brooding Goldenthal is enthralled, affectionately referring to Hamilton as "the professor of tactile funk."

A phone call from Martin around 11 p.m. interrupts the evening. Johnson holds the phone in the air so the high maintenance producer can hear a playback of Hamilton's riff. But Martin is on a cell phone in a lead bar and can't hear a thing. Goldenthal, a Brooklyn native, looks pained. The East Coast-New York Coast tension has resumed, which means it's time for Johnson to retreat north—if only to his Upper West Side apartment. So the laid-back director retreats to his other favorite role as difficult dad—and takes his tired daughter home.

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# B.C.'S SECRET HISTORY

Did Elizabethan explorer and pirate Francis Drake land on Vancouver Island in 1579?

ON SEPT. 26, 1580, Francis Drake arrived in Plymouth harbour aboard the *Golden Hind*, completing one of the most famous voyages in world history—an epic 65,000-km circumnavigation of the globe. It was only the second such voyage ever made, and the first in which the captain himself—in this case, the greatest seaman of his age, in the opinion of friend and foe alike—made it back alive. Drake had been gone almost three years, long enough to have been given up for dead by many, including his wife, Mary, who had taken up with another man. No European had seen or heard of Drake between April 1579, when he was off the Pacific coast of Mexico, and the following November, when a Portuguese galleon was ordered to find an English ship south of the Philippines. The whereabouts of the *Golden Hind* during those seven months was intensely subjected to a royal case of silence-by-order of Queen Elizabeth I; Drake's sailors were forbidden to reveal their route on pain of death.

How far north Drake went along the Pacific West Coast before turning toward Asia has been hotly disputed over time. Maps and accounts, many of them mutually contradictory, that began to emerge more than a decade after the voyage, seem to indicate Drake went no further than northern California, which he named *Nova Albion* (New England) and claimed for Elizabeth. He then backtracked to spend five weeks repairing his ship in a bay somewhere near San Francisco. For more than a century, American Drake aficionados—inspired by the 1937 “discovery” in California’s Marin County of a brass plate said to be Drake’s—have been enthralled into chasing the struggle’s echoes because the stakes are as small as light over just which California bay was Drake’s anchorage. The fact that none of the proposed candidates resembles a drawing found on a now contemporary map hasn’t dampened the enthusiasm. Even the 1970s notion that proved the brass plate was a fake (the metal alloy is modern) barely

caused a blip on the California dreaming

Seeping heavily into these murky waters is Samuel Bartlett—geographer, developer, former politician, devotee of Pacific maritime history and, now, author of *The Secret Voyage of Sir Francis Drake* (Douglas & McIntyre). Bartlett offers a compelling, rigorously argued case that Drake went much farther north—as far as southern Alaska. *Nova Albion*, in fact, was at Cordova on Vancouver Island, according to Bartlett, and Drake was the first European to visit British Columbia, two centuries before James Cook, who has that honor in the history books.

Bartlett’s Drake is far more than a gilded seaman and a first intergrate—Queen Elizabeth’s sharpest weapon against her mortal enemy, King Philip II of Spain. Drake was that, of course. He sailed through the treacherous Strait of Magellan and barreled into the Pacific—a placid lake of welcoming Spanish treasure ships—like the first predator in the Garden of Eden. It took Drake’s crew three full days to transfer ballast from one ship to another in their ship. A contemporary is rumored that the plunder lugged home by the *Golden Hind* would be enough to pay for seven years of war against the very Spaniards from whom it was stolen.

But Drake was also a spy in England’s ambitious master plan, a secret strategy to establish its over-sea route to Asia. Just as other Elizabethan sailors, like Martin Frobisher, were seeking the Northwest Passage to Cathay from the Atlantic end, Drake was to search for the passage to the Pacific eastward and—should the climate and natives prove welcoming—establish a safe refuge for English ships in need of supplies and repairs. The need to keep the Spanish in the dark was paramount. Hence the secrecy and elaborate misdirection, which persisted long after the plan was abandoned and its principal agents were dead.

Bartlett, 59, has displayed a Drake fix level of interest in his pursuit of the English explorer. “When geographers, like me, grew up in Vancouver, I started reading about the early ex-

ploration of the coast in my teens,” he recalls. “My interest lay low for a long time, but it really came back in focus during the biennial celebrations of Cook’s 1778 arrival.” The secret interest probably had that effect on a lot of British Columbians, but Bartlett, who had gone from redeveloping Victoria’s his-



toric core to politics, was in a position to do something about it. As the cabinet minister in Bill Bennett’s Social Credit government in charge of the celebrations, he stepped up underwater archaeology programs and ordered his officials to look for evidence of contact before Cook. Drake’s name naturally

surfaced, and has never since been far from Bartlett’s mind.

Drake and “Wasp” led him to some 16th-century Dutch maps that accurately depicted the Pacific northwest coast. Bartlett drew the conclusion that the official maps of Drake’s voyage—which don’t show these de-

tails—had been removed. Why else but Drake or his crew could have provided that information to the Dutch, class Protestants allies of the English in the struggle against Catholic Spain? On English maps, the explorer’s journey had been deliberately shifted south by 10 degrees of latitude. By approaching the problem through the maps, rather than the coast, Bartlett had made a crucial breakthrough. “Cartography has always been used as a secondary source, not a ‘real,’ primary, written record,” he notes. “But in Drake’s case the written record has been considerably misread about.”

When the old Drake maps are compared with modern charts, not of the California coast they purport to show but of B.C.’s far more complex Inside Passage, recognizable features leap out—everything from Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte to the Fraser River. And that’s true of not just one or two charts, Bartlett says, “but more than 20, all of which can be traced to Drake’s expedition, and probably Drake himself, all of them misleading and you deduce the rules of encryption.” Namely, the practice of floating landfalls 10 degrees south of where they actually occurred. “Then everything dovetails, the heavily edited written material and the altered maps.”

The enduring mystery cleared up by Bartlett’s research update accounting for the seven missing months in mid-voyage and the puzzling poem in the written accounts where Drake turns south because of being cold. What Bartlett calls “the California trick” involves the frigid temperatures in the Little Ice Age, unusually cool dramatic conditions that afflicted the northern hemisphere at the time. But to have the kind of weather described—including freezing men and blowing ice—on California, Bartlett laughs, “would have required a real ice age.”

Clearing up everything was Bartlett’s plan for his enormously detailed book. “I didn’t go through five years of research and two years of writing to have it treated as an interesting theory, something to go with all the musing gubbins of the past century. I wanted a new, convincing explanation of all the evidence.” Why was it worth so much time and effort? A matter of simple justice, Bartlett replies. “Drake was arguably the greatest voyage of exploration ever,” he concludes. “From sailing 65,000 km around the world to mapping the coast of B.C. Shouldn’t he get the credit for it?”





## PEOPLE | 49

The ultimate guide to Canadian art

Lawren Harris, who painted *Glacier Macdonald Lake 2001* (left), is one of 6,000 artists profiled in *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*. The prize-winning, eight-volume reference work was compiled and self-published by Ottawa's Colin MacDonald.



## TOYS | 50

The future of TV viewing

For \$800, RCA's new personal video recorder lets you watch the VCR tapes off.



## Music | Debuting after a decade of dues-paying

Standing outside Toronto's BMG Music/Head quon, the five members of its *Boomer* band and bolder when a pretty blond walks by. Heading up the festivities is Qu, who pretends to snap off photographs with a make-believe camera. The young woman doesn't blink. "She's ignoring you," says laugh fellow band member Drs. "She doesn't even know you exist." Qu's untendered "You'll want to know us soon," he shouts after her. "You'll know us soon."

Qu's referring to the fact that in *Boomer*, his just-released debut full-length album, *The Master Plan*, and the first two singles, *IE* and *Friend of Mine*, are getting steady radio play. But he should probably hold back the bold predictions, considering these five friends, aged 26 to 38, have been on the

casual of a breakthrough for 10 years. Qu, Drs, Pops, Teeth and Sesseth—they don't reveal their real names—came together as an R & B band while in high school in Mississauga, Ont., a decade ago. In 1998 they went to New York City and caught the attention of DJ Funkmaster Flex by playing their demo outside a club where he was spinning. The stunt earned them a management deal—but a big break was hard to come by. "We played everywhere we could," says Pops. "Including clubs, live clubs, and outside subway stations just to buy a ticket to get home."

The guys decided to move back to Mississauga and try to make their name in Canada. They're getting there. If slowly. "I love when one of our songs is playing at a club," says Tooth. "and I get to be in it and singing every word and doesn't even know it's me." One day says Qu, "He'll know." JAMES HAMILTON

## LISTINGS

Canadian Open Old Time Fiddle Contest  
Aug. 4-8  
Thousands of people will pour into town during the 51st annual Coda fest, which boasts workshops, stage dancing and 5,000 live-in-theatre shows. *See also* 48-49

Rock and Blues Festival  
Aug. 24-27  
Rock, blues and pop music is celebrated with more than 45 acts, among them pop musician Chantal Kreviazuk and former Rolling Stones guitarist Mick Taylor. *See also* 48-49

San Francisco de Asis  
July 28-Aug. 2  
The diversity of French language music is explored in 1,000 performances stage 300 concerts, including *Les Trois Georges* (see also 48-49)

Spokane  
A Chamber Music Festival  
Aug. 28  
Based on three seasons of music, 157 of the best of music last, this festival is devoted to well-known Toronto musicians and playwright Richard D'Orazio. *See also* 48-49



## People | The things we do for the love of Canadian art

Colin MacDonald suppressed his passion for art until he was nearly 40, but fully embracing his family as a government accountant clerk. Then, in the early '80s, his wife gave him a paint set. Within a year, Mac Donald had a solo exhibit at a local Ottawa gallery. But it was his desire to record the accomplishments of other artists that would ultimately change his life. Mac Donald's inspiration hit in the early '80s, when he discovered an international dictionary of artists. "I thought, 'What if it's a good idea of we had a dictionary of Canadian artists?'" he recalls. Sure, and one publisher who rejected the proposal—see below—wasn't in the small Canadian fine arts market. Perhaps he should narrow the list to prominent artists, suggested another.

But MacDonald, now 78, refused to give up. In 1985, he quit his job to pursue his goal. Two years later, using his \$3,000 retirement fund to help cover the printing costs, he released *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, Vol. 1 (A to F). After four editions, this 800-page book holds biographical data on more than 1,000 visual artists, dancers, actors, composers and poets. And MacDonald has sold more than 52,000 copies

of the prize-winning reference work, shipping it to libraries and art galleries across North America from his home warehouse. In the course of nearly 40 years, Mac Donald has patiently researched and written seven volumes in total, often working 10-hour days. By the end of this year, he hopes to publish the eighth and final volume, covering S to Z. With this, MacDonald will have created a compendium of 6,000 artists, from the most illustrious to the obscure—many of whom he met in the process, including several members of the Second Group of Seven.

Throughout this labour of love, his commitment has been extraordinary. Although he received sporadic government grants, he was forced to subsidize his project with personal loans, and by selling his own artwork as well as checks of his cherished fine arts library. "It broke my heart but I had to have the money to carry on," says MacDonald. "It was a little bigger than I intended, but I'm going to finish the job."

SHARON DOYLE BRIDGES

## Books | The way of the cross in Canada

More than a year before the Roman Catholic Church's World Youth Day was held in Toronto in July 2002, a special cross dedicated to the event arrived in Canada. An extraordinary 40-ton journey across the nation, much of the time carried by the faithful, as the subject of *Reflections of A Light* (St. Basil's, \$29.95), with text by Leslie Sorenson and photos by acclaimed photographer Irene Sparrow. Canada won by far the largest country ever to hold a WYD, and the cross had never before been carried over distances as great. Much would weather conditions, or by its early modes of transport. Many of Sparrow's images are striking, his focus leaving the cross on a lonely, treacherous hill in Newfoundland, three bus-tan pilgrims, watched closely by their families, praying before St. Ignace, the cross in the bare mud of Prince's Cove, N.S.

## BESTSELLERS

## Fiction

	Author/Editor	
1.	THE CROSSING HISTORY OF THE CROSS IN THE WESTERN WORLD Leslie Sorenson	1
2.	THE FIRST CROSS, THE FIRST CROSS Leslie Sorenson	2
3.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	3
4.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	4
5.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	5
6.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	6
7.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	7
8.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	8
9.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	9
10.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	10

## Non-fiction

	Author/Editor	
1.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	1
2.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	2
3.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	3
4.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	4
5.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	5
6.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	6
7.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	7
8.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	8
9.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	9
10.	THE CROSS, THE CROSS, THE CROSS Leslie Sorenson	10



## Internet | Google gear

Google, king of the search engines, is even more accessible with the Google toolbar (Google.google.com). The second version brings a lot of most-visited links, links pop-up and even those special Weblogs—personal on-the-go journals that are frequently updated—the ability to link the page they're viewing to their Weblog. There's also an auto-fill bar for quickly filling out Web forms and a shortcut button to Google News. A great application, but it only works with Internet Explorer for Windows.



## Toys | Pause-itively great news for the busy TV viewer

Everyone knows how frustrating it is when the phone rings during your favorite show. You race to grab it and end up missing what always turns out to be the best part. But when it comes to TV viewing, we really are at the mercy of the network's schedule. Sure, the VCR comes to handy, but VCRs have their problems. Most of us have accidentally recorded over something important. And tapes only hold about an hour of television—which means you have to pick and choose which shows to record when going on vacation. But what else can you do?

Well, praise for a moment—literally. The next great thing in television—the personal videocorder—is about to take off. RCA has introduced the DVC9000N, a DVD player that lets you 40 gigabyte hard drive built into it, good for as many as 30 hours of recording. Need a snack in the middle of a show? Just press pause and the player will automatically start recording the rest of the program to the hard drive. Once you're back on the couch, pick up from where you left off.

A timer tells you how many minutes you are behind the original broadcast, and you can switch up by fast-forwarding through the commercials. If you miss a line or want an instant replay you can rewind and watch it over, while the player continues to record the rest of the show. The machine can also be set to record when you're not home just like a standard VCR—and it can play MP3s.

PVRs are not new. *Bill Expresso* has been offering a similar product for two years, but you need to be a satellite subscriber to enjoy it. The RCA player, though, connects directly to the TV and works with everything from standard cable to satellite. At \$800, the DVC9000N is priced reasonably well. And RCA says its next model, available in August, will allow users to burn TV programs onto DVDs. So go ahead, let the dog out or answer the phone—take as long as you like. With the PVR on pause, time is on your side.

Compiled and written by Michael Steiner  
msteiner@mac.com

## How-to | Keep in touch

It's a beautiful summer evening and the setting is the back deck with city lights. I'm all rigged up: wireless connection to a high-speed Internet account, Logitech QuickFax—a Web camera—looks like the top of the laptop, and an instant messenger program up and running. It's time to chat.

I'm a big fan of instant messengers, an application that lets people communicate on real time by typing, talking through a microphone or having a face-to-face video conversation. It's a great way to keep in touch with friends and family, especially if they're spread out. Last week, I had a video chat with my wife, who was on desktop at home, me on the laptop at work. We had her making lunch at each other for a while and then figured out what we were going to do for dinner—but only after she dashed in the closet to get a hat, worried someone looking over my shoulder might notice she was leaving a hat for dog. I had a good week with my brother, in Phoenix, Ariz., while wearing a microphone headset that was connected to the computer and a broadband typed conversation came tomorrow with my aunt in Calgary and my father, who's posted in Canada. All this without any long distance fees.

I'm not the only one hooked on IM. A recent study by a British market research firm pegs the number of messenger accounts at about 600 million worldwide by 2005, the study says, nearly 1.4 trillion messages will be sent daily. Yahoo, Microsoft and the market leader, America Online, all offer video and voice capable instant messenger services for free on the Web. Of course, IMs are not glitch-free. Performance issues can result in downloading the Web content, several e-mail and conferencing systems in order to have a face-to-face with text and sound and video quality are poor unless you have a broadband Internet connection DSL or cable. Also, while e-mail, where you can send a note from your Microsoft Internet account to a friend's AOL or Yahoo account, IM services are not compatible with each other. Not yet, at least. But with the growing popularity, IM providers have played to work on compatible systems. Making nights on the back deck even more entertaining.



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**Rule 1:** For any given situation, Canadian politics will tend toward the least exciting possible outcome.

**Rule 2:** If everyone in Ottawa knows something, it's not true.

The rules are doubly ironic. Usually when Everyone Knows what's about to happen, they're really only hoping it will happen so they're being true (see Rule 1) will become more interesting. So Everyone Knows the Kyoto accord would devastate Alberta's oil patch. Everyone Knows Stodwell's die would revolutionize federal politics. Usually, when Everyone's wondering what will happen next, the wisest answer is, "not much." See Rule 1. Let's apply Wells's Rules to the busy political season ahead.

**Paul Martin will be the next Liberal leader.** Everyone knows this, yet it's actually true. These rules aren't perfect. Sorry.

**The overlapping agendas of Paul Martin and Jean Chrétien will make Canada unrecognizable.** Unrecognizable scenarios are all the rage in Ottawa, because chaos would be so much more fun than real life. Here's the latest version of the theory: Liberals will vote on Sept. 19/21, in elections across Canada, to select delegates for their November leadership convention. If Martin is way ahead at the end of that weekend, the convention becomes a formality because he can't lose.

Well, there are five months from September until Chrétien leaves in February. (Everyone knows he'll be second out of order. So he won't.) During that time, there'll be a lame-duck prime minister in Ottawa and a third new Liberal leader waiting in the wings. Everyone knows this will cause chaos.

Why? Because backbench Liberal MPs will vote against Chrétien in the Commons. At least they're always telling the Globe and Mail, off the record, that they will. They

never do, not in sufficient numbers to cause real trouble. It would be terribly exciting if they suddenly acquired the courage of their anonymously stated convictions. Which is why it won't happen.

Maybe there will be chaos because foreign leaders won't know whom to call. This makes foreign leaders have a morbid interest in the machinations of the Liberal Party of Canada. It's more likely they'll have a phone number in the Rolodex under Canada, Prime Minister. If Jean Chrétien picks up

holio in the ground show where Brian Tobin, Allan Rock and Iain Duncan Smith used to stand.

So the minute he gets the job, he's going to give Canadian voters a chance to take it away? I don't think so. There are all kinds of excuses for waiting before calling an election—the need to approve a new philosophy of government with a federal budget, for instance. But they're only excuses. The real reason is that when Martin finally gets the job of his life, he'll be in no mood to ask us whether we want to take it away.

**The winning message for Martin is "change."** If the next leader sounds like a second decade of Jean Chrétien, the party's doomed. There may even be something to this line of argument—although I recall a trio of Martin strategists using the same analysis to explain to me why the Liberals were already doomed in 2000, a month before Chrétien won his third majority.

But if it's true the next Liberal leader has to be the candidate of change, it's also true it's a delicate job. The early signals are that Martin will cook it up profoundly. The newspapers are full of stories saying Martin will overhaul his cabinet, boosting out opponents like John Manley, Shelly Coppin, Martin Cauchon and Jane Stewart, replacing them with loyalists like Brian Keays and Alona Gershon.

Two problems with this analysis. First, you have to be lodged pretty far up Ottawa's butt to believe that when Canadians want change, what they mean is, "I want Sean Keays in cabinet." A cabinet shuffle isn't change. It's business as usual in Ottawa.

Second, notice how all the leaked stories announce doom for Martin's enemies and cheer for his supporters. Well, since Martin won the Liberal leadership by denouncing Chrétien as a bully and a strong-arm boxer, he won't exactly distinguish himself as a change agent by bullying his own enemies and rewarding his pals.

Finally, when a new guy campaigns by running against the old guy, the odds are high that he'll embrace the party's old supporters without converting any new ones. If it were Stephen Harper or Jack Layton, I'd want nothing more than for a Liberal who spent a decade in power to tell everyone why it's time to make a change. The next federal election might be more interesting as we expect. But only a little. See Rule 1.

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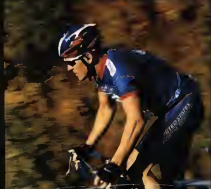
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